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THE MEDIEVAL FORT OF KALINJAR AND ITS HISTORY

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The celebrated hill fort of Kalinjar [Kalanjar] is situated in the village of Tarahati under the Naraini *tahsil* around 56 Km. south of Banda in the Bundelkhand region, in Uttar Pradesh on the border with Madhya Pradesh. It stands on an isolated flat-topped hill of the Vindhya Range, which here rises to a height of 244 m. above the plain. Constructed on the plateau of the Kalanjar hill, at an altitude of 408m. (1,340 feet), 'so high that it impedes the progress of the sun at mid-day',¹ the fort is aligned in an east-west direction, being nearly a mile in length and half a mile in breadth. It is one of the eight famous forts built by Chandela rulers. Built on strong 25-30 metre wide foundation, the fort has a height of around 30-35 metre with a summit which is 8 metres wide. It has a length of 7.5 km. The material used in its construction is large sand stone and granite pieces put over each other with an occasional use of lime mortar as cementing material.

The township of Kalinjar, known as Tarahati is situated at the foot of the hill in the north. It is surrounded with ramparts which were pierced with four gates, of which three survive. The northern gateway, known as *Kampta Phatak* opens on the Badausa – Kalinjar road, on which is situated the *Bela talao*. The *Panna Phatak*, or the western gate divides the Tarahati from the western settlement known as Katra. The third surviving gate is the *Rewa Phatak* which is situated in the north-western part of Tarahati. The road which passes through it leads to the 'Sravan' statue, and a number of tanks, before leading to the second important hill of the region known as *Kalinjari* or *Chhoti Kalinjri*.

Inside the township one encounters a number of medieval structures, including certain dilapidated *havelis* and mosques. According to Fuhre, several old mosques, dating from the reign of Akbar onwards are in different stages of decay and carry epigraphs inscribed with dates AH 1012 (AD 1603), 1122 (AD 1710), 1131 (AD 1718), and 1155 (AD 1742).² To the south of the township, on the right of the road leading to the fort is the *Rathod Mahal* said to have been built by Akbar in 1583.

The Kalinjar fort situated on the top of the hill has two entrances, of which the principal one is on the northern side, towards the town while the other is at the south-east angle leading towards Panna. The

Northern entrance is guarded by seven different gateways which can be approached by a flight of stone steps most of which have now apparently disappeared. The first gateway situated at some height as one ascends from the township is known as *Alam Darwaza*. Most of the stairs which once led to this gate are now extant. This gate is square and lofty but plain in construction. It appears to have been constructed during the reign of Aurangzeb. An inscription [Append. Insc.no.81] fixed on the top of gate bears the date AH 1084 [AD 1673]: Above this gate there is a steep ascent, chiefly by steps, to the second gate called *Ganesha Darwaza*, which derives its name from a coarse figure of the elephant god carved towards its right. At a short distance higher up in the bend of the road stands the third gate, named the *Chandi Darwaza*, which being a double gate with four towers is also known as *Chauburji Darwaza*, or the 'gate of the four towers.' At this gate there are several pilgrim records and inscriptions of various dates. As one enters through this gate, we encounter a structure, probably a guard-house, adorned with *Shahjahani* cusped – arches, built of rubble covered with lime-mortar, is located.

At some distance from these guard-rooms, the road suddenly loops around 80°. Just below this bend is a small dilapidated gateway known as *Balkhandi Mahadeo Darwaza* which leads to a shrine of the same name situated around halfway down the hill.

The fourth gateway known as *Budhabhadra* is a heavily built structure and possesses only one inscription. The fifth gate or *Hanuman Darwaza* derives its name from a figure of the monkey-god carved nearby on a slab resting against the rock. There is also a reservoir called *Hanumankund* as well as a number of stone sculptures and figures carved on the rocks representing *Kali*, *Chandika*, *Siva* and *Parvati*, *Ganesha*, the bull *Nandi*, and the ubiquitous *lingam*. The sixth gate, constructed of red sand-stone, and thus called the *Lal Darwaza*, stands near the top of the ascent. To the west of this gate, is the *Bhairava Kund* where there is a colossal figure of *Bhairava* cut in the rock. There are also two figures of pilgrims represented carrying water in two vessels fixed at the end of a *banghi* pole. A short distance leads to the seventh gate, called *Bara Darwaza*, or the main gate through which one enters the fort.³

Inside the fort one encounters a number of structures which include palaces, temples, tombs, mosques, ponds and water-tanks apart from a large number of sculptural remains [see **Map II**]. Unfortunately except for the various *kunds* and temples, the other structures have somehow escaped the notice of the various surveyors of the fort. There are at least three secular structures, viz. '*Raja Aman Singh Palace*'

[no.20, Map II], the '*Rani Mahal*' [no.27, Map II], and the '*Rang Mahal*' [no.28, Map II], which date back to the Bundela period.

The Bundela style of architecture had been initiated by Rana Kumbha (1428-68) and had assumed form as early as the middle of the 15th Century in the palace at Chitorgarh. Further progress was made under the Sultans of Maṇḍu who at Chanderi erected a number of buildings distinctive in style which became a model for the architecture of Bundelkhand. According to Brown, this style as it finally developed may be defined as:

'based on the contemporary productions of the Moslems as these evolved under the Sultans of Delhi, but overlaid with elements of indigenous Indian extraction to suit the taste, mode of living, and traditions of the Rajput rulers'⁴

As per the traditions of the Bundela style of architecture, the structures are generally square in plan and the exterior, which is multi-storied, encloses a square court-yard. Externally each storey is defined by a wide eave (*chhajja*) and overhanging balcony and each angle is finished by a graceful cupola (*chhatri*). Further, arcaded kiosks project from each parapet. Internally these structures are composed of ranges of apartments alternating with open terraces, communication being obtained by means of passages and corridors. The afore-mentioned Bundela structures at Kalinjar are in the same architectural style but are only two stories in height.

Situated towards the southern portion of the fort, the *Aman Singh Palace* is a structure which, although much separated in time, reminds one of the *Major Haramsara* ['Jodhbai Palace'] of Akbar's palace complex at Fathpur Sikri. Revolving around a centrally located court-yard, this structure is provided with a heavily built and arcaded portal or gate-house containing a *deorhi* or angled entrance. Foliated arches adorne the porticos on all the four sides of the courtyard. Presently the structure has been converted into a site museum of the various sculptural specimens and members collected from around the fort area.

The *Rani Mahal* situated in the middle of the fort at some distance to the north of the *Aman Singh Palace*, is again a double storied building constructed of masonry rubble covered with lime mortar. It is presently in a much dilapidated condition. The battlements and merlons decorating its high walls however are quite interesting. This structure, in its plan and elevation, resembles the residential palaces at Amber near Jaipur. The *Rang Mahal* situated to the north-west is also built on the same traditions. A detailed description of these palaces would be possible only after a careful exploration. It is however interesting to note that secular structures of other periods except the

Bundela, do not appear to have survived. Atkinson only reports the debris of some Chandella structure towards the western wall of the fort which was according to him popularly known as the remains of *Parmal ki baithaki* [Parmal's court].⁵

There are, a large number of water reservoirs (*kunds*), ponds and tanks (*talao*) in and around the fort of Kalinjar. Praising the fort, Abul Fazl points out to this fact when he remarks that "springs rise within the fort and there are many tanks".⁶ A look at Map II would reveal that the environs around the fort were dotted with a number of natural and excavated water bodies which collected the water falling from the slopes of the hill. At least two of them, the *Bela talao*, situated north of the township, and the *Sursuriganga* or the *Ganga Sagar*, situated in the lowlands to the north-east of the fort [see Map II] are man-made. The latter is a large irregular shaped tank with steps on three of its sides through which one can descend to the water level. A closer look at the stones used in constructing these steps reveals that a number of them are carved members (pillar shafts?) of some structures.

The largest water body in the fort appears to be the *Koth tirth* [no.19, Map II] located adjacent to the *Raja Aman Singh Palace*. This quadrangular tank is provided with a flight of steps on all its sides. From the large number of pilgrim's inscriptions carved on these steps it appears to have been one of the most sacred of the tanks inside the fort. To the north, at some distance is located the *Sanichar talao*, [no.22, Map II] which, again is quadrangular in shape. The *Budhabhadra talao* [no.15,

Map II] which is almost half the size of the *Koth tirth* is located towards the eastern side of the fort. The other *talao* inside the fort are the *Talaiyya talao* [no.32, Map II], *Bijli talao* [no.29, Map II], *Madar talao* and the *Ramna* (also known as *Ram ka katora talao*) [no.30, Map II]. All these ponds have been excavated by cutting the rocks to form depressions to hold water.

Among the *kunds* inside the fort the largest appears to be the *Bhairon Kund*, [no.10, Map II] situated near the *Lal Darwaza* (the sixth gateway).

Also known as the *Khambhor Kund*, this reservoir is almost equal to the *Budhbhadra talao* in length. It has been excavated in the rock and is provided with a series of steps. Five square pillars and an equal number of

pilasters support the overhanging lateral stone shafts to form the tank. Another large *kund* is the *Patalganga kund* [no.13, Map II] which is a deep water reservoir situated towards the north-east. Among the

smaller reservoirs we have the *Sita kund* [no.12, Map II], *Mrigdhara* [no.35, Map II], *Pandu kund* [no.14, Map II], *Pani ki Aman* [no.16, Map II] and *Bhairon ka Jhirka* [no.36, Map II].

In the middle of the fort are encountered the 'Muslim' remains in the shape of a graveyard, two mosques and at least two tombs. The graveyard [no.24, Map II] contains a number of graves which unfortunately do not contain any legends or dates. On the north-western corner of this graveyard is situated the larger of the two aforementioned tombs. This tomb [no.25, Map II] is square in plan and is surmounted with a Lodi style dome, which one generally encounters during the reign of Akbar. The western wall of this structure is provided with a *mihrab* containing an inscription in Persian. On the eastern side of this tomb is a large stone masonry platform. Immediately to the west of this structure, besides the modern path is the smaller tomb [no.26, Map II] which architecturally appears to belong to the same tradition as the former. The interior western wall of this tomb is decorated with three pointed arches. Both these tomb structures are constructed of rubble-masonry covered with a thick layer of lime-mortar.

Among the mosques inside the fort, the *Islam Shah Mosque* [no.21, Map II] is located on the northern bank of the *Koth tirth*. The western *liwan* of this mosque is three bayed deep and aisled broad. The flat roof of this structure is supported by crudely carved pillars with square shafts. The western wall is decorated with five blind arches. The *mihrab* or the middle arch is quite plain. A Persian inscription is inscribed on the pilaster to the left of the *mihrab*. This mosque can be entered through a gate situated to the east. Simple stone-masonry walls surround the courtyard from all the sides. There appears to have been no *riwaq* or cloisters around the sides. The second mosque is a *qanati* (screen) mosque [no.23, Map II] which adjoins the *Sanichar talau*. Constructed on the south-western corner of this tank, this mosque contains a simple *mihrab* on top of which is fixed a marble-stone inscribed with the *kalima* and 'nad-i 'Ali.

The most prominent structure in the fort is the famous *Nilkantha Temple* [no.34, Map II] situated in the depression in the hill towards the north-western corner. This great *lingam* temple of *Nilakantha*, is a masterpiece of architecture. Entrance to the temple is provided by a trabeated entrance gate known as the *Parmardideva darwaza* [no.33, Map II]. The actual shrine of *Nilkantha*, containing a large dark-blue *lingam* about 1.15m high and having three eyes., is situated in a small cave located near a ledge below the ramparts. The long flight of steps leading to this cave temple lined with fine specimen of sculpture carved

on the perpendicular rock of the hill. Beautiful figures of river goddesses, *Ganga* and *Yamuna* are carved on the jambs of the door leading to the cave. The façade of the cave once had been very rich, but is now much broken. The cave temple is fronted with a beautifully carved *mandapa* which now stands in a dilapidated condition. This *mandapa* is square in plan and is raised with help of eight stone pillars placed in such a fashion that they once held an octagonal roof. To the right (i.e. south) is a deep rock-cut reservoir known as *svargarohana* and to the right of the reservoir in a rock niche, there is a colossal figure of *Kala-Bhairava*,⁷ about 24 feet in height and 17 feet broad, standing in about 1.5 ft. of water. It is depicted with 18 arms holding various objects like a broad straight sword, axe, shield, a club, a bowl of blood, *laddu* etc. However the *trishul* is prominent by its absence. Garlands of skulls, snake ear-rings and a serpent around its neck adorn this image. Besides this statue there is a figure of the goddess *Kali*, about 3 ft. in height.

There are two more colossal images of Bhairon in the fort. One of them is above the *Bhairon kund* near the *Lal Darwaza* and is known as *Khambhor Bhairon*. This figure is about 10 feet in height and is carved about 20 ft. above the water level. The third Bhairon image is carved on the rock above the *Bhairon ka jhirka* in the south-east of the fort near the Panna Gate [no. 37, Map II] of the fort. Known as *Manduk* or *Mirke Bhairon*, this image is 8 or 9 feet in height. The usual weapons, and skull-garland adorn these statues. The *Manduk Bhairon* has a skull head-gear and 10 arms. He is accompanied by his vehicle (*vahan*), the dog.

The fort of Kalinjar is a treasure house of a large number of Shaivite sculptures. However some Vaishnavite images are also encountered. A *devapatta* was discovered from the north-western edge of the fort which is built into the south-west face of an arched gate overlooking the Nilkantha Temple.⁸ On this tablet is carved a standing figure of *Vaikuntha* (Vishnu) in high relief. Below the figure is an inscription: "[sr]i ve/vaikunthah". He is surrounded by five friezes containing 14 *Sivalingas*, 9 *Durgas*, 5 *Ganapatis*, 12 *Adityas*, 12 *Visnus* and some other gods and their consorts. According to Maxwell, this panel contains deities associated both with Vaisnavism and Saivism, thus reducing *Vaikuntha* figure as a 'relatively junior deity', and may represent the ideological pragmatism of the rulers:

"The Candella image of Vaikuntha was above all a symbol of Candella royalty, from the time of Yasovarman onward. It would therefore have been politically important to establish the Vaikuntha cult on Kalanjar, but this move may well have been resisted by a

conservative Saiva priesthood which had been established on the mountain for at least 500 years. In this sensitive situation, a votive plaque representing the Candella Vaikuntha, yet containing Saiva symbolism and attached to an existing temple at Kalanjara, rather than the creation of a separate Vaikuntha shrine on the mountain, was probably the only acceptable solution. The Vaikuntha tablet would thus represent a compromise between political and religious requirements."⁹

A survey around the Kalinjar hill brought to light two other images of Vishnu. On the bank of *Sursuriganga / Ganga sagar talao* are two large images of Vishnu carved in a reclining posture. It should also be remarked that in spite of contrary claims in certain Persian accounts (e.g. Hasan Nizami, *Tajul Ma'asir*), none of the images found at Kalinjar appear to have been vandalized.

From the literary and epigraphic evidence it appears that long before the fort was erected, 'the hill was devoted to Hindu worship'.¹⁰ The first literary reference to the hill of Kalinjar is found in the *Mahabharata* where it is mentioned that:

*Atra kalanjaram nama parvatam lokavisrutam tatra devahrade
snatva Gosahasraphalam labhet yah snatas tarpayet tara girau
kalanjare nrpa svargaloke mahiyeta nara nasti atra samasayah.*¹¹

Loosely translated it means that at the famed mountain of Kalinjar whoever bathes in the lake of gods, i.e., the sacred lake (*devahrada*), he acquires the same merit as if he had given away one thousand cows!

The mountain appears in fact to have been a stronghold of Saivism at least since the 5th- 6th Cent.A.D. Among the clay seals discovered by Marshall at Bhita, one depicts a mound of round rocks with a *Shivalinga* at the top and a wavy line below, bearing the legend in Gupta characters *kalanjara-bhattaraka* i.e., 'Lord of Kalanjara'¹². According to a Chandela inscription this place was known as "the dwelling place of Nilkantha (Lord Shiva)": *nilakanthadhivasam kalanjarim*.¹³ A number of epigraphs at the caves and various portions of sculptures at Kalinjar are earlier than the fort and suggest a pre-Chandella antiquity.¹⁴ At least ten inscriptions inside the fort belong to a period between 7th and 10th centuries [see Appendix, Insc. no.1 - 10].

An inscription, probably dated to 7th Century, on the *Chandi Darwaza* claims that the 'house of god *Bhadresvara*' (i.e. temple) was constructed by a Pandava king named Udayana. [Append, Insc..no.5]. Another inscription (9th Cent.AD) [Append. Insc.no.10] records the construction of a temple (*kirtti*) of Shiva on the hill. From another epigraph it appears that by 9th Century AD, the temple of Shiva,

probably the Nilkantha Temple, had been established and was being visited by pilgrims.

During the 9th Century, from c.836 AD the area of Kalinjar appears to have been held by the Gurjara-Pratiharas of Qannauj¹⁵ until it was taken by the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III sometime before the mid-10th century.¹⁶ Ultimately, sometime before 954 AD. Kalinjar passed into the hands of the Chandellas, with whom the city and fort of Kalinjar are closely identified. In fact Kalinjar with its strong fortress, Ajaigarh with its palace and Khajuraho with its magnificent temples, are usually regarded as the military, civil and religious capitals of the Chandellas.

According to Chandella traditions, the foundations of the fort of Kalinjar were laid by Chandra Varma, an ancestor of the dynasty, who was a contemporary of Prithviraja III, the Chauhan ruler of Delhi. The work at the fort was later carried out by his son and successor, Madana Varma. There is also a legend, quoted by Crooke, regarding the origin of the Chandella dynasty, according to which the birth-place of the Chandellas was Kalinjar itself. According to this legend, the king of Kalinjar once asked his family priest, Mani Ram, the day of the month. The priest replied that it was *puranmasi* (full moon), although it was *amavas* (last day of the dark fortnight). When the priest realized his folly, he became quite distressed. His daughter, on learning the plight of her father fervently prayed to the moon, who as a boon, caused a *puranmas* that night, in order to justify her father. However, as a return of his boon, the moon co-habited with the daughter. The priest on learning this felt quite ashamed of his daughter and threw her out of his house. Ultimately it was in the jungles that the hapless daughter delivered a male child. Subsequently, a Rajput, on seeing her plight carried her with him. The priest was so ashamed of this affair that he turned himself into a stone, which came to be worshipped as *Maniya Deva*. The child became the founder of the Chandella dynasty.¹⁷

The epigraphical evidence, however, show that Kalinjar was captured by the Chandellas during the 10th century during the reign of Yasovarman, before which it was shifting hands between the Rashtrakutas, Gurjara-Pratiharas and the Chedis.¹⁸ It appears that this hill (or the fort?) was taken from the Kalachuri kings of Chedi by the Chandellas.¹⁹ Yasovarman was succeeded by his son Dhanga (c.950 – c.1008). According to an epigraph, Kalinjar was firmly under his control.²⁰ The inscription however uses the term '*as far as Kalanjara*' which means that it was not the capital of Chandellas at this time. In 998, however we find Dhanga enjoying the title '*Kalanjaradhipati*', which might convey the sense that by this year Kalinjar had finally emerged as the capital of the Chandellas.²¹

By AD.978 the 'rai' of Kalinjar, Rai Nanda, is mentioned by Firishta as 'an ally' of Rai Jaipal, the ruler of Lahore, against the Ghaznavide army.²² In AD.1008 we find the Rai of Kalinjar, along with the *rais* of Ujjain, Gwalior, Delhi, and Ajmer 'entered into a confederacy' with Anand Pal, the son of Jaipal, against the army of Sultan Mahmud.²³ This tradition is however, of not much worth. From the epigraphic sources we know that the *rai* of Kalinjar between AD.950 and AD.1008 was Dhanga.²⁴ Dealing with Sultan Mahmud's invasion of AD.1022, the author of *Tabaqat-i Akbari* mentions that the fort of Kalinjar had 'no equal in the whole country of Hindustan for (its) strength and impregnability'.²⁵ What is, however, of greater significance is the statement of al-Beruni, the contemporary of Sultan Mahmud:

"Marching from Kanoj (*Kanyakubja*) [Qannauj] towards the south-east, on the western side of the Ganges, you come to the realm of Jajahuti [*Jejakabhukti*], 30 *farsakh* from Kanoj. The capital of the country is Kajuraha [*Khajuraho*]. Between this town and Kanoj *there are two of the most famous of the fortresses of India, Gwaliyar [Gwalior/Gopadri] and Kalanjar [Katinjar]*."²⁶

It appears that the Rai of 'Kajuraha' whom Sultan Mahmud had to face was Vidyadhara, the son of Ganda (c.1008 – 1017) and the grandson of Dhanga.²⁷ The Ghaznavide historian Ibn al-Athir records his name as 'Bida' and claims that he was 'the greatest of the rulers of Hind in territory and had the largest (of) armies, and whose territory was named Kajuraha'.²⁸ Nizamuddin Ahmad and Firishta however mention the name of the king as 'Nanda'.²⁹ However the first Chandella king to be mentioned in the inscriptions found at Kalinjar is Kirttivarman, whose preceptor (*guru*), Srimurti, was responsible for constructing the *mandapa* at the Nilkantha Temple [see Append. Insc.no.14]. It appears from the *diwan* of Masud Sa'ad Salman that Kalinjar, along with Badaun, Qannauj and Malwa, had to bear the brunt of attacks by the later Ghaznavide rulers.³⁰

Twelfth century seems to have been a period of comparative peace. Much constructional activity at Nilkantha Temple is encountered during this period. In 1131 during the reign of Madanvarma some individuals of royal family set up the image of the deity Nilkantha, which was sculpted by 'Lahada son of *sutradhara* Rama and his brother Lakshmidhara' [Append. Insc.no.18]. There are at least two other inscriptions of the same king in the Nilkantha temple [see Append. Insc.no. 16 & 17]. In 1135 the image of Narsimha was set up in the same temple [Insc.no.19] by a feudatory (*thakkura*). Two years later, in 1137 AD was constructed the cell of *Gauriprya* (i.e.Shiva) in the

temple [Insc.no. 21].

The 12th century also witnessed a large number of pilgrimages by feudatories (*thakkura*, *bhattaputras*, *rajaputras*, and *rautas*) to the shrine of Nilkantha [Insc.nos.33 – 42]. The temple of Nilkantha probably was finally completed during the reign of Parmardideva. An inscription dated 28th October 1201 AD records an eulogy of this king as well as his eulogy for the deity [Insc.no.43].

It was ultimately on 27th April 1203, within 18 months of putting up the above mentioned eulogy, that the fort of Kalinjar was wrested from the Chandellas by the Ghurids. A number of contemporary Persian chronicles report the conquest of Kalinjar by Qutbuddin 'Aibek. To quote Hasan Nizami :

"In the year 599 AH [AD.1202-03] Qutbuddin 'Aibek proceeded to the investment of Kalinjar, on which expedition he was accompanied by the *Sahib qiran* Shamsud din Altamash (Iltutmish). 'The accursed Parmar' [Paramardi deva (1165 – 1203)], the Rai of Kalinjar, fled into the fort after a desperate resistance in the field and afterwards surrendered himself, and 'placed the collar of subjection' round his neck, and on his promise of allegiance was admitted to the same favours as his ancestor had experienced from Mahmud (bin) Subuktigin, and engaged to make a payment of tribute and elephants, but he died a natural death before he could execute any of his engagements. His *Diwan* or *Mahtea* by name Aj Deo was not disposed to surrender so easily as his master and gave up his enemies much trouble, until he was compelled to capitulate, in consequence of severe drought having dried up all the reservoirs of water in the fort. On Monday the 20th of *Rajab* (27 April, 1203), the garrison, in an extreme state of weakness and distraction, came out of the fort and by compulsion left their native place, and the fort of Kalinjar which was celebrated throughout the world for being as strong as the wall of Sikandar [Alexander] was taken "³¹

Firishta also narrates a similar story but adds that it was the minister (Aj Deo) who got the king assassinated.³²

In AD.1206 when Qutbuddin Aibek took up control at Lahore and Delhi, Kalinjar was in Ghurid possession, although the control was quite weak: an epigraph of Trailokyavarman dated AD.1205 mention the latter as *parambhattaraka-maharajadhiraja-paramesvara-param mahesvara kalanjaradhipati*.³³ A later inscription supports this contention when it records:

"[Trailokyavarman] was like Visnu in lifting the earth, emerged in the ocean formed by the streams of Turushkas."³⁴

During the reign of Iltutmish, in AD.1233-34, Malik Nusratuddin Taisi, who was the *iqtadar* of Sultankot and Bayana as well as the *shuhna*

(incharge) of Gwalior fort, was asked to launch an attack on Kalinjar. We are informed that on his approach, the 'Rai of Kalinjar', Trailokyavarman, fled from the place. The whole area was plundered, and an amount of 25 lakhs of *sultanis* was collected by the Sultanate army.³⁵ But then it appears that within a few years the Chandella rulers of Kalinjar had again emerged as a powerful entity and started using the epithet of *Kalanjaradhipati* (Lord of Kalanjar).³⁶

Sometime at the end of the 13th century the Fort of Kalinjar passed on from the hand of the Chandellas to those of the Bundelas. It is very difficult to say how long the fort remained under the possession of the Bundela rulers.³⁷ From an inscription we come to know that the colossal image of *Manduk Bhairon* was carved in 1375 AD [Insc.no.48]. However by 1540's it was being held by the Baghela rulers of Gwalior. It was around this time that Humayun attempted to capture this fort. The first attempt appears to have been made in 1530, when Humayun besieged Kalinjar. His contact with Kalinjar fort in 1530 is attested by a Persian inscription [Insc.no.67] carved on a rock below the *Patalganga*. This single line inscription simply notes: "Mohammad Humayun *Padshah Ghazi*, dated the last day of *Rajab ul Murajjab*, year 936 (30 March 1530 AD)". This inscription is supported by the account of Gulbadan Bano Begum, who holds that Humayun as a prince launched a campaign against Kalinjar sometime during the last year of Babur's reign.³⁸ Abul Fazl, however, does not mention the Kalinjar expedition of Humayun at the time when Babur was ill, but states that Humayun invested Kalinjar soon after ascending the throne.³⁹ We know that Humayun ascended the throne in May 1531. Would it then mean that Humayun led two expeditions to Kalinjar as has sometimes been held?⁴⁰ Qanungo and Iqtidar Alam Khan have both rightly argued that an expedition in the region of Kalinjar could not have been undertaken in 1531.⁴¹ An explanation of this 'chronological' discrepancy of Abul Fazl can be found in another passage given by Abul Fazl. When Babur fell ill, Abul Fazl says

"he summoned his officers and nobles and making them place the hands of homage to the empire (*khilafat*) in the hands of Humayun, appointed him heir and successor, placing him on the throne of sovereignty, while he himself lay bedridden at the foot of the throne."⁴²

This passage might help us in comprehending the title '*Padshah Ghazi*' appended to Humayun's name in the above cited inscription. It may also explain Abul Fazl's statement which has led to the impression that Humayun *also* attacked Kalinjar in 1531 AD. Abul Fazl while mentioning the expedition was probably hinting towards the informal

'accession' (i.e. 1530 and not 1531). Whatever the case, the inscription is quite explicit that Humayun was able to achieve his objective in March 1530 and thus had no need to return to Kalinjar in 1531.

In AD 1545 when Sher Shah Sur attacked the fort of Kalinjar, then held by Raja Kirat Singh, the Baghela chief of Gwalior, the Bundelas being on good terms with the Raja, assisted him against the Sur army. An intense battle was fought, and the Sur army had to use gunpowder missiles (*huqqa*). In spite of the sudden death of Sher Shah in an accident,⁴³ the combined forces of the Baghelas and the Bundelas were defeated and the fort came under the Sur suzerainty.⁴⁴ The body of Sher Shah after his death, was temporarily buried near the fort of Kalinjar before being shifted to Sasaram. His temporary grave still exists on the small hillock known as Kalanjari towards the east of the fort. From an inscription on the pilaster of the *mihrab* of the Islamshah Mosque, it appears that the fort was put in the charge of a certain noble named Khan-i 'Alam and the hill fort was re-named as *Sherkoh* [Insc.no.76].

After the death of Islam Shah, the successor of Sher Shah, the Baghela chief, Raja Ram Chand re-occupied Kalinjar with the help of the Bundelas sometime after AD.1554.⁴⁵

The Mughal reoccupation of Kalinjar under Akbar took place in AD 1569 when on Imperial orders the governor of Manikpur, Majnun Khan Qaqshal laid siege to the fort. Raja Ram Chand Baghel on being surrounded by the Mughal forces and the resultant shortage of water inside the fort surrendered. Majnun Khan Qaqshal was appointed as the first Mughal *qil'adar* of the Kalinjar by Akbar.⁴⁶ In 1581-82 we find Shaikh Abul Faiz Faizi, the poet-laureate and the brother of Shaikh Abul Fazl, was serving as the *sadr* of Kalinjar.⁴⁷ In 1604-5 Kalyan Das, the son of Raja Todar Mal was the *qila'dar* of Kalanjar fort.⁴⁸ Our sources are silent as to who were the other *qil'adars* of Kalinjar between the terms of Majnun Khan Qaqshal and Kalyan Das who died in 1575-76.⁴⁹

Under Akbar, Kalinjar formed one of the nine *sarkars* (districts) of *Suba* Ilahabas (Allahabad).⁵⁰ According to Abul Fazl, the *sarkar* Kalinjar comprised 10 *mahals* and one circle of *dastur ul 'amals*. These *mahals* were Kalinjar with its suburbs, Ugasi, Ajaigarh, Sihunda, Simoni, Shadipur, Rasan, Khandeh, Mahoba, and Maudha.⁵¹ Except Rasan, Abul Fazl mentions that each of these *mahals* was provided with a fort. At Ugasi, Simauni, and Kharelah (Khandah) they were brick forts, whereas those of Sihunda, Shadipur, Mahoba, and Maundha, apart from Kalinjar itself, had stone fortresses.⁵² The total measured land in *Sarkar* Kalinjar during Akbar's reign was 508,273

bighas, 12 *biswa*, while the total estimated revenue of this area was 23,839,470 *dams*. Our chronicler also mentions the number of *zamindars*' retainers as: 18,100 infantrymen, 1,210 horsemen and 112 elephants.⁵³

It is interesting to note that the Mughal sources of Jahangir's period are largely silent as far as Kalinjar and its fort are concerned. We are, however, fortunate to have in the of the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, possession a collection of private papers from *mahal* Sihunda which contains a couple of Jahangir's *farmans* issued in the name of the local officials. The only *qil a'dar* mentioned from the reign of Jahangir is Munis the son of Mihtar Khan who held the rank of 500 *zat* and 150 *sawar*.⁵⁴

In 1628-29, during the reign of Shahjahan we find the mention of Saiyid Ahmad as the *qile 'dar* of Kalinar fort.⁵⁵ In 1630-31 when Saiyid Ahmad proved his worth during the rebellion of Khan-i Jahan Lodhi and imprisoned the latter's son, the emperor in recognition of his loyalty bestowed upon him the title of Janbaz Khan.⁵⁶ Sometime in 1638 Saiyid Ahmad Janbaz Khan was replaced by Abdullah Najm Sani as the *qile 'dar* of Kalinjar.⁵⁷ He enjoyed this position till 1639-40.⁵⁸

During the period 1674 -1705 we find that there was a Bundela uprising in the Suba Allahabad.⁵⁹ The reign of Aurangzeb saw a loosening in the hold of the Mughals in the region of Kalinjar. The Bundela leader Chhatarsal repeatedly plundered the area around Kalinjar and ultimately occupied it in 1688-89. The inscription of Aurangzeb dated AD.1673 on the *Alam Darwaza* of the fort thus is earlier than the Bundela uprisings.

Apart from the political history our sources throw some light on the vibrant cultural history of the region. The Baghela rulers of Kalinjar appear to have been great patrons of art of music. Nayak Bakhshu, originally of the Gwalior court appears to have migrated to Kalinjar, from where Sultan Bahadur the Gujarati ruler is said to have invited him. Abul Fazl narrates in the *A'in-i Akbari*:

"It is said that Raja Kirat Singh, the ruler of the fort possessed six precious treasures, a learned Brahman of saintly life, a youth of great beauty and amiable disposition, a parrot that answers any questions put to it and some say, remembered everything that it heard, a musician named Bakhshu unequalled in the knowledge and practice of his art, and two handmaidens lovely to behold and skilled in song. Sultan Bahadur Gujarati having formed a friendship with the Raja asked him for one of these. The Rajah generously with a provident wisdom sent him Bakshu.⁶⁰

Nayak Bakhshu is said to have been the creator of *dhrupad*, which was further developed and refined by Miyan Tansen Gwaliari, who adorned the court of Akbar.⁶¹ According to Faqirullah who compiled a treatise on music and musicians during the reign of Aurangzeb, the invention of *dhrupad* was brought about by Raja Man Gwaliari with the coordination of Nayak Bakhshu, and Nayak Bhinnu.⁶² At another place Faqirullah mentions that:

“Nayaka Bakhshu, may God’s overwhelming mercy be upon him, has three definitely important innovations to his credit: He mixed *Todi* with *Deskara* and named it as *Bahaduri (Todi)* after Sultan Bahadur Gujrati. Besides this, he created *kanhra* by letting *syama* and *khambayachi* mingle with each other. Another novel creation of his has been a *kalyana* based on *hamir*, *kalyana* and *jayanti-kalyana*. This *kalyana*, like *kanhra* is directly associated with him and called *nayaki-kalyana*. In succession to him comes Miyan Tansen.⁶³

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Khajuraho Inscription of Dhanga (dtd. VS.1011/AD.954) in the Lakshman Temple, stanza 31. see *Epigraphia Indica* (henceforth *EI.*), vol.I, 127-28.
2. A.Fuhrer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oude*, Varanasi, reprint, 1969, p.154.
3. For a listing of the remains and antiquities in the fort of Kalinjar, see Lt.Maisey, ‘Description of the Antiquities at Kalinjār’, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, March, 1848, pp.171 – 200; See also Edwin T.Atkinson, *Statiscal Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India* vol.1, Allahabad, pp.446-73
4. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Muslim Period)*, Bombay, 1942, p.120
5. Atkinson, *op.cit.* I, 467.
6. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari* tr.Jarret., vol.II, p.170.
7. Abul Fazl mentions this idol of ‘Kal Bhairob’ and says that it is 18 cubits high (*Ain-i Akbari*, *op.cit.*, II, p.170).
8. T.S.Maxwell, *The Visvarupa Iconographic Traditions, North Indian Images of Visvarupa Visnu, 5th -13th Century CE*, the unpublished Archaeological Reports, <http://ignca.nic.in/>; N.P.Joshi, “Devapattas: A Less Known Chapter of Medieval Hindu Iconography”, in *Eastern Approaches, Essays on Asian Art and Archaeology*, ed. T.S.Maxwell, OUP, 1992, pp.133-40, plate 49; S.K. Sullere, *Ajaigarh aur Kalinjar ki deva-pratimayen*, (Hindi), New Delhi, 1987, fig.38, p.115.
9. Maxwell, *Archaeological Reports*, *op.cit.* section.29.2.
10. Atkinson, *op.cit.*, I, p.449.
11. *Mahabharat, Vanaparavan, Tirthayatra parvadhyaaya*, 85.56-57; 8199-62000.
12. J.N Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, pp.182-83.
13. *Khajuraho Inscription of Dhanga* (dtd. VS.1011/AD.954) in the Lakshmana Temple, stanza 31, *op.cit.*

14. Atkinson, *op.cit.*, 450.
15. Barah Copper Plate Inscription of Bhojdeva Pratihara records a grant made by Bhoj in the *Kalanjara-mandala* in 836 AD., which shows that Kalinjar was a part of the Pratihara empire at that time. See *El.*, vol.XIX, p.18, line 6.
16. H.C.Ray, *Dynastic History of North India*, Calcutta, 1936, vol.II, 741; N.S.Bose, *History of the Candellas*, Calcutta, 1956, 29-30.
17. W.Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North Western Provinces and Oudh*, Calcutta, vol.II, 1896, 196-97.
18. Khajuraho Stone Inscription of AD.1002. *El.*, vol.I pp.127-28.
19. The Kalachuris of the south kept the hereditary title of 'lords of Kalanjara, the best of towns', see F.Kielhorn, "Kahla Plate of the Kalachuri Sodhadeva" [Vikrama-Samvat 1134], *Epigraphia Indica*, vol.VII, Calcutta, 1902-03, pp.85-93, (verse no.5)
20. Khajuraho Inscription of AD.1002, *El.*, vol.I, p.129.
21. For details see Ray, *op.cit.*, II, p.679; Bose, *op.cit.*, p.44.
22. Firishta, *Tarikhi-i Firishta*, tr.J.Briggs, Bombay, 1831, vol.I, p.18
23. *Ibid.*, I, p.46.
24. *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, Vol.XVI, p.204; vol.I, pp.145, 146, 197.
25. Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, tr.B.De , Bibliotheca Indica, vol.I, Calcutta, 1927, p.14.
26. Abu Raihan al-Biruni, *Alberuni's India*, tr.Sachau, London, 1910, Vol.I, p.202.
27. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol.I p.219 ;Inscription no.44 (Appendix) however mentions 'Vijayapala' in line no.17, followed by Bhumipala, Jayavermadeva, (?)-varmma, Madanavarma , Pratapverma, and Viraverma. After that the text is illegible.
28. Ibn al- Kathir, *al-Tarikh-ul Kamil* ,(ed.) Bulak, 1874, vol.IX, pp.115 – 116.
29. Nizamuddin Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p.12; Firishta, *op.cit.*, I, p.63.
30. *Diwan-i Masud Sa'd Salman*, ed.Rashid Yasmi, pp.262-65, 307, 397, also see pp.170-71, 219 & 247.
31. Hasan Nizami, *Tajul Ma 'asir*, MS. F.185(b); For translation see Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by its own Historians*, Vol.II, London, 1869, pp.231 -32; See also Fakhr-i Mudabbir, *Tarikh-i Fakhruddin Mubarakshah* , ed.Denison-Ross, London, 1927, p.25.
32. Firishta, *op.cit.*, I, p.197.
33. *Garra Grant Inscription*, *El.* *op.cit.*, XVI, pp.272-77.
34. Ajaigarh Rock Inscription of Viravarman, Dted.AD.1260, *El.* *op.cit.*, I, p.327.
35. Minhaj us-Siraj, *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, ed.Nasau Lees, K.Husain and Abdul Hayy, Bib.Ind., 1864, pp.239- 41
36. Grant-inscription of Viravarman, the successor of Trailokyavarman, dated.1254, and the grant inscription of his successor Hammiravarman, dted.1289, *El.* *op.cit.*, XX, pp.132, 135.
37. Keshao Das Mishra, *Bir Charitra*, ed.Vishwanath Prasad Mishra, Allahabad, 1959, p.486; Gore Lal Purohit, *Chhatra Prakash*, pub.Kashi Nagri Pracharan Sabha, Varanasi, p.5.
38. Gulbadan Bano Begum, *Humayun Nama*, ed. A.S.Beveridge, RAS, London, 1902, p.22.

39. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, ed. Agha Ahmad Ali, ASB, Calcutta, vol.I, p.123
40. See SK Banerjee, *Humayun Badshah*, vol.I, pp.16, 50.
41. For a controversy regarding the date of Humayun's expedition, see, K.Qanungo, *Sher Shah and His Times*, 1964, pp.120-27; Iqtidar A.Khan, "Note on the chronology of early moves of Humayun", *PIHC*, Muzaffarpur, 1972, pp.391-93.
42. *Akbarnama*, I, p.276
43. During the siege a live rocket rebounded from the ramparts of the fort and lighted the powder magazine where Sher Shah stood. Sher Shah was severely burnt and died the next day. See *Ain*, II, op.cit., p.271; Abbas Khan Sarwani, *Tarikh- Shershahi*, ed.S.M.Imamuddin, Dacca, 1964, pp.200-04; also K.R.Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, Calcutta, 1921, p.339.
44. *Ain*, op.cit., II, pp.170 -71; *Tarikh- Shershahi*, pp.200-04.
45. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, vol.II, pp.498-99; Nizamuddin Ahmad, *op.cit.* II, pp.595-96; Shahnawaz Khan, *Maasir ul Umara*, vol.II, pt.1, p.105; Account of Joseph Tieffenthaler, *The Mid-Gangetic Region in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. & tr. SN Sinha, Allahabad, 1976, pp.63-64.
46. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, ed. Beveridge, vol.II, pp.499; Abdul Qadir Badauni, *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, vol.II, p.124. Our sources however inform us that the Baghela chief was allowed to hold on to Bandhogarh (*Akbarnama*, vol.III, p.1088; Badauni, vol.II, p.345). Subsequently his son and successor, Virbhadra, also received the title of *raja* from the Mughal court. (*Akbarnama*, III, pp.966-67; *Ain-i Akbari*, ed. Blochman, p.406; *Ma'asir ul Umara*, II, p.583).
47. Faizi in this year was the *sadr* of Agra, Kalpi and Kalinjar. See *Akbarnama*, III, p.372.
48. *Akbarnama*, III, p.834.
49. *Ain-i Akbari*, vol.I, p.p.223; Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhirat ul Khawanin*, ed.Moinul Haque, Karachi, 1961-74,
50. *Ain-i Akbari*, op.cit., II, p.96.
51. *Ibid.*, II, p.97.
52. *Ibid.*, II, p.177.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Syed Ahmad Khan, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1864, p.270.55. Amin Qazwini, *Badshahnama*, MS..Br.M.Or.173; Add.20734, (copy in Deptt.of History, AMU), f.176 (b) ; Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshahnama*, ed.Maulvi Kabiruddin and Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Bib.Ind., Calcutta, 1867-68, Vol.I, p.260.
56. Lahori, op.cit., pp.349-50; Qazwini, op.cit., f.217 (b).
57. Lahori, op.cit., II, 129.
58. *Ibid.*, II, p.168.
59. For details see SN Sinha, *Subah of Allahabad under the Great Mughals (1580 – 1707)*, New Delhi, 1974, pp.69-73.
60. *Ain-i Akbari*, II, pp.170-71; see also Lahori, op.cit., II, pp.5-7.
61. Faqirullah Nawab Saif Khan, *Tarjuma-i Manakutuhala wa Risala-i Ragdarpan*, ed.Shahab Sarmadi, INCA, New Delhi, 1996, p.11; Lal Khan Kalawant, *Majmu 'al-Afkar*, ed. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, pp.17-21.
62. Faqirullah, p.97
63. *Ibid.* p.67

Appendix

INSCRIPTIONS OF KALINJAR

No.	SITE	DATE	LANGUAGE/ SCRIPT	DETAILS	REF.
1.	On the head of the figure of a pilgrim carrying water on <u>banghi</u> pole, near the sculpture of <i>Balkandesvara</i> , outside the fort on the hill in the North.	n.d. (Gupta characters)	Sanskrit/ <i>devanagari</i>	' <i>samadhi gata pancha-mahasabda samanta sri Vasantah</i> '	Cunningham, <i>ASIR</i> , xxi, 41
2.	Statue of <i>Sarwan Baba</i> near <i>Ganga Sagar</i> on the north face of the hill below the fort.	-do-	-do-	-do-	<i>Ibid.</i>
3.	Steps of the <i>Pandu Kund</i>	-do-	-do-	A short inscription of a pilgrim	Fuhrer, p.152
4.	Walls of the Islam Shah Mosque, north bank of <i>Kohtirth</i> tank in the fort	-do-	-do-	A number of short inscriptions	Fuhrer, p.152
5.	Stone slab built into the right hand wall of the <i>Chandi Darwaza</i> (the III entrance gate)	n.d. (7 th Cent.)	-do-	An inscription of 15 lines. Records in the introductory portion that the house of the god <i>Bhadresvara</i> was caused to be constructed formerly by the king Udayana of <i>Pandava</i> family.	<i>ASIR</i> , xxi, 40; <i>Epigraphia Indica</i> , p.257, n.7; <i>Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy</i> , (1971-72), no.B-269
6.	In a cell near the <i>Nilkantha Temple</i> , situated in the N-W of the Fort	-n.d.- (characters may belong to 8 th Cent. A.D.)	Sanskrit/ <i>devanagari</i>	A three line inscription. Records the setting up of a symbol of <i>Mahesvara</i>	<i>ASIR</i> , xxi, p.40
7.	Entrance door of <i>Sita Sej</i> situated in the south of the Fort.	-n.d.- (In characters of 8 th Cent. AD)	-do-	A short pilgrims inscription of salutation (<i>pranam</i>)	Fuhrer, p.151
8.	On a wall of a cell near the statue of <i>Nagesvara-Mahadeva</i> close to the <i>Temple of Nilkantha</i>	-n.d.- (In characters of about 9 th Cent A.D)	Sanskrit/ <i>nagari</i>	Records the salutations (<i>pranam</i>) of <i>Kitrivasu-deva</i> and <i>Bhava Somesvara-guru</i> (or <i>Kitrivasu Deva</i> , the <i>guru</i> [preceptor] of <i>Bhava Somesvara</i> . Engraved by <i>Desala</i> , (probably) a son of <i>Chichha-sutradhara</i> (mason/ sculptor)	<i>ARIE</i> , (1969-70), no.C-2969.

9	Rock close to <i>Balkandesvara Temple</i> in the North strip of the Fort.	-n.d.- (in characters of circa. 9 th Cent. AD)	Sanskrit/ <i>siddhamatri</i> ka	A short inscription mentioning a <i>samanta sri</i> Vasanta, who is described as <i>samadhi gata-</i> <i>pamcha-maha-</i> <i>subda</i> .	ARIE, (1970-71), no.C-3152.
10.	Over the entrance of <i>Sita Sej</i>	-do-	Sanskrit/ <i>de</i> <i>vanagari</i>	Seems to record the construction of a temple (<i>kirtti</i>) of Siva on a hill following the order of a king, (name not written). Also records the name of Ratane.	ARIE, (1969-70), no.C-2973.
11.	On a rock between <i>Budhabhadra</i> (4 th) Gate and <i>Hanuman</i> (5 th) Gate.	11 th Cent. AD	Local dialect	Text not known	Fuhrer, p.152
12.	Pillars of the <i>Islam Shah Mosque</i> , north of <i>Kohitirth kund/ Kotha Tirth</i> . (several)	-do-	Sanskrit/ <i>nagari</i>	-do- un-deciphered	Fuhrer, p.152
13.	On the right lintel of the door of the sanctum of <i>Nilkantha Temple</i> .	<i>Vikram samvat</i> (VS) 1141/ 1084 AD	-do-	Badly damaged. Purport not clear. Mentions a certain <i>'maharaj-</i> <i>kumar</i> (name not clear).	ARIE, (1971-72), B-253.
14.	Stone slab built into the wall of the Siva image in the <i>Nilkantha Temple</i>	Chandella Kirtti-varman <i>Magh sudi 7, 1147</i> vs/ 10Jan. 1090 AD	-do-	Records that the <i>mandapa</i> of the god <i>Nil-</i> <i>kantha</i> of Kalanjara was caused to be constructed by Srimurti, the king's <i>guru</i> (preceptor) Records the <i>dan</i> (gift) of two pitchers (of water?) to the deity by a certain Vasudeva. Mentions <i>kayastha</i> Devapala, probably the writer. Also records the grant of two <i>hala</i> of land to the <i>sutradhara</i> Arama, the builder of the <i>mandap</i> .	ARIE, (1971-72), B-254; ASIR, xxi, pp.93- 94; <i>Ep.Ind.</i> xxxi, pp.163ff & plate.
15.	<i>Pani ki Aman Kund</i> near <i>Panna Gate</i> .	VS.1185/1128 AD	Local dialect/ <i>nagari</i>	Pilgrim's record	JASB, March, 1848, p.183

16.	Pillar in the <i>Nilkantha Temple</i> .	Chandella Madana-varma VS.1186/ 1129 AD.	Sanskrit/de va-nagari	Mentions king Madana Varmma Deva. Commisioned by <i>pratihara</i> (doorkeeper Sangrama Sinha and the chief of the dancing girls (<i>maha- nachani</i>) Padmavati. Inscribed by Auji.	ASIR. xxi. p.34.
17.	Piece of broken pillar (formerly at <i>Nilkantha Temple</i>) subsequently shifted to the Police Station, Kalinjar.(Could not be located by me).	Chandella Madana-Varma <i>Jyestha sudi 9</i> , 1187 VS./ 1130 AD.	-do-	Incomplete. Mentions only the reign of Madan Verma. the hill of Kalinjar (<i>Kalanjadri</i>) and <i>sri</i> <i>Trisalka</i> (?).	ASIR. xxi. p.34
18.	On a rock to the left side of <i>Nilkantha Temple</i>	Chandella Madana- Varma <i>Kartika sudi 8</i> , 1188 VS .Sat-urday/ 31 Oct. 1131 AD.	-do-	Seems to record the setting up of the image of the deity <i>Nilkantha</i> by certain individuals including one <i>maha- Rajaputra</i> Vachharaja (Vatsaraja?) the son of prince Kamalendu; and son of king's son Solhana, and <i>raut sri</i> Udanah. Sculpted by Lahada s/o <i>sutradhara</i> Rama and his brother Lakshmidhara.	ARIE. (1969-70). C-2970; ASIR. xxi. pp.34- 35; Bhandarkar's List. no.224.
19.	Rock besides a figure of <i>Narsinha</i> near the <i>Nilkantha T.</i>	Chandella <i>Jyestha sudi 9</i> , 1192VS. / 1135 AD.	Sanskrit/ nagari	Two inscriptions. one above the other. regarding the making of the image of . <i>Narsinha</i> . caused to be made by <i>thakkura</i> Narsinghdeva s/o Salhana s/o <i>dikshita sri</i> Prithvidhara In the lower half Salhana has been changed to Ralhana.	JASB. March. 1884. p.322; ASIR. xxi. pp.35- 36

20.	Under a small figure of a worshipper to the right of 'Mirak Bhairon', at <i>Pani ki Aman Kund</i> , near <i>Panna Gate</i> .	1194VS./ 1137 AD.	-do-	----	JASB, March. 1884, p.184; Atkinson.I, p.465.
21.	In a cell near the <i>Nilkantha Temple</i>	<i>Chaitra ba.5</i> , 1194 VS Thurs./ 23 Feb. 1137 AD.*	Sanskrit/ nagari	Records the construction of a beautiful cell of <i>Gaurpriyai</i> (i.e. Siva) by Narsinha, son of <i>Bharadwaj brahamana</i> named <i>Ralhana</i> . [cf. no.19]	ASIR. xxi, p.36; ARIE, (1966-67), C-2406; Bhandarkar's List, no.238.
22.	Below <i>Bhairon ka Jhirka</i> , north of <i>Panna Darwaza</i> of the fort.	1194 VS/1137 AD	-do-	----	ASIR. xxi, p.36
23.	Above <i>Bhairon ka Jhirka</i> , north of <i>Panna Darwaza</i> of the fort.	1195 VS / 1138 AD	-do-	----	ASIR. xxi, p.36
24.	Side of the Gate (3 rd) known as <i>Chandi/ Chauburji Darwaza</i> (third insc.from the above)	1199 VS / 1142 AD	Local Dialect/ nagari	A pilgrim's salutation (<i>pranama</i>) to <i>Mahesa</i> (i.e. Siva)	JASB, March. 1884, p.184; Fuhrer, p.151; Atkinson.I, p.460; P.Prasad**, p.212.
25.	On a column having two human figures facing left in <i>anjanimudra</i> in <i>Islam Shah Mosque</i> on the northern bank of <i>Kohirih/Kothatirth Kund</i> .	Chandella 1219VS / 1162 AD	Sanskrit/ deva-nagari	Records the salutations (<i>pranama</i>) of certain Samvalu.	ARIE, (1969-70), C-2971.
26.	Right door-post in the descent from <i>Patalganga</i> , near the male figure standing on a stool.	122...VS / 116— AD [1160's]	nagari	----	JASB, March. 1884, p.180.
27.	Outside the <i>Lal Darwaza</i> of the Fort.	<i>Samvat</i> 1226(?) / c.1169 AD	Sanskrit / deva-nagari	A long inscription of 16 lines. Unreadable. 4 th line: ' <i>kalanjadri</i> ' (hill of <i>Kalinjar</i>).	ASIR. xxi, p.40; Fuhrer, p.151.
28.	On a step near the <i>Hanuman Temple</i> near the <i>Lal Darwaza</i>	<i>Phalgun sudi 10</i> , 1227 VS Tues./ 16 Feb. 1171 AD	Sanskrit/na gari (corrupt)	Contains the date only.	ARIE, (1970-71), C-3153.
29.	On a rock between <i>Budhbhadra</i> and <i>Hanuman Darwazas</i> .	<i>Vaisakh sudi 14</i> , 1240 VS Thurs./ 26 April 1184 AD	Sanskrit/de vanagari	Records the consecration of some thing (details not given) made by <i>Devasri Jayakara</i> , <i>pamdita sri Yasodhara</i> and his son <i>pamdita sri Jaje</i> .	ARIE, (1969-70), C-2972; Bhandarkar's List, no.400.

* In ARIE, (1966-67), C-2406, the date has however been converted to 3rd March 1138 AD.

** Pushpa Prasad, *Sanskrit Inscriptions of Delhi Sultanate, 1191-1526*, OUP, 1990

30.	Stone slabs built into the left wall in the <i>garbhagriha</i> of the <i>Nilkantha Temple</i> . [no.1]	In characters of 12 th Cent. AD	-do-	Records the perpetual obeisance (<i>pranama</i>) of Madhava s/o Pape, and grandson of Mahull of <i>chironjaka-pury-anavara</i> and <i>govila-gotra</i> , accompanied by his wife Suga, and Kulachandra, Harichandra Devachandra and Ramchandra	ARIE. (1971-72). B-255
31.	Stone slabs built into the left wall in the <i>garbhagriha</i> of the <i>Nilkantha Temple</i> . [no.2]	-do-	-do-	Records perpetual obeisance of four persons named Palha, Padama, Bhaila, & Manadeva.	ARIE. (1971-72). B-256.
32.	Stone slabs built into the left wall in the <i>garbhagriha</i> of the <i>Nilkantha Temple</i> . [no.3] : below the figures of a man and two women	-do-	-do-	Records the <i>pranama</i> of <i>pamdita sri Bhuvanasya</i>	ARIE. (1971-72). B-257.
33.	Stone slabs built into the left wall in the <i>garbhagriha</i> of the <i>Nilkantha Temple</i> . [no.4]: Below the figure of a man	-do-	-do-	Records the <i>pranama</i> of <i>maha-mattaka thakkura sri Vatsaraja</i> [cf.no.18, &39]	ARIE. (1971-72). B-258
34.	Stone slabs built into the left wall in the <i>garbhagriha</i> of the <i>Nilkantha Temple</i> . [no.5]	-do-	-do-	Records the <i>pranama</i> of 'thakkura sri Kava(r)a Parigaha maha'	ARIE. (1971-72). B-259
35.	Stone slabs built into the left wall in the <i>garbhagriha</i> of the <i>Nilkantha Temple</i> . [no.6]	-do-	-do-	Records the <i>pranama</i> of 'thakkura sri Udharana parivatrah saha'	ARIE. (1971-72). B-260
36.	Stone slabs built into the left wall in the <i>garbhagriha</i> of the <i>Nilkantha Temple</i> . [no.7]	-do-	-do-	Records the <i>pranama</i> of <i>rajaputra sri kule rajaputra sri [ni?jka]</i>	ARIE. (1971-72). B-261
37.	Stone slabs built into the left wall in the <i>garbhagriha</i> of the <i>Nilkantha Temple</i> . [no.8]	-do-	-do-	Records the <i>pranama</i> of <i>thakkura sri Pahulah parivarai saha'</i>	ARIE. (1971-72). B-262
38.	Stone slabs built into the left wall in the <i>garbhagriha</i> of the <i>Nilkantha Temple</i> . [no.9]	-do-	-do-	Records the <i>pranama</i> of 'thakkurasri Isva(sva)ra [h] parivarai saha'	ARIE. (1971-72). B-263

39.	Stone slabs built into the left wall in the <i>garbhgriha</i> of the <i>Nilkantha Temple</i> . [no.10]	-do-	-do-	Records the <i>pranama</i> of 'rauta sri Vachharaja parivarai saha' [cf.18 & 33]	<i>ARIE.</i> (1971-72), B-264
40.	Stone slab built into the front wall(next to no.39) in the <i>garbhgriha</i> of the <i>Nilkantha Temple</i> .	-do-	-do-	Records the <i>pranama</i> of Hari s/o <i>bhattaputra</i> Vapayara, together with his wife.	<i>ARIE.</i> (1971-72), B-265
41.	Stone slab with carvings of several human figures, <i>Nilkantha Temple</i> .	-do-	-do-	Records the <i>pranama</i> of 'thakkura sri Sankara-ganesya	<i>ARIE.</i> (1971-72), B-266
42.	Stone slab at the same place as no.41	-do-	-do-	Badly damaged, and fragmented. Seems to have contained a <i>prasasti</i> .	<i>ARIE.</i> (1971-72), B-267
43.	Black stone slab near the door of the <i>Nilkantha Temple</i> .	Chandella Parmardi-deva <i>Kartika sudi 10, 1258 VS Monday /28 Oct. 1201 AD</i> ^{***}	Sanskrit/ <i>nagari</i>	Praises the king and contains the eulogy of the latter for the deity. Records that it was inscribed by Padma, the 'favourite' of Parmardi and grandson of an eminent artist, the son of Anrina, in the company of his younger brother Deoki. [†]	<i>JASB.</i> March, 1884, p.313-17; <i>ARIE.</i> (1971-72), B-268; <i>ASIR.</i> xxi, pp.37-38; Prasad, pp.71-77.
44.	Sandstone slab in <i>Nilkantha Temple</i> .	-n.d.- Chandella (last mentioned king is Vir Verma) c.1250 AD	Sanskrit/ <i>deva nagari</i>	A geneology of Chandella kings in 29 lines. The first name which can be read is that of Bijaya pala. The list ends with Vir Varma. The eulogy is purported to have been written by Valluki Vira(?).	<i>JASB.</i> March, 1884, p.310; <i>ASIR.</i> xxi, pp.38-40.
45.	Image of <i>Narsinha</i> in <i>Nilkantha Temple</i> .	1292VS/ 1235 AD	-do-	Records a pilgrimage	Atkinson, I, 469; Prasad, p.90.
46.	Below the male figure standing on a stool on a door in the descent, <i>Patalganga</i> .	1339VS/1272 AD	-do-	A single line pilgrim's record.	<i>JASB.</i> March, 1884, p.180.

^{***} Lt. Maisey, *JASB*, March, 1884, p.313, wrongly attributes this inscription to 1298VS/1241AD

[†] It is interesting to note that within 18 months of inscribing this eulogy, on 27th April 1203 Parmardideva surrendered to Qutbuddin Aibek.

47.	On a side of <i>Patalganga Kund</i>	1339VS/ 1272 AD	Sanskrit/ <i>nagari</i>	-do-	Fuhrer, p.152; Prasad, pp.121-22.
48.	' <i>Mirak Bhairon</i> ', <i>Pani ki Aman</i> cave, near <i>Panna Gate</i> .	1432 VS / 1375 AD	-do-	Date and name of <i>Manu</i>	<i>JASB</i> , March, 1884, p.184; Atkinson, I, p.465
49.	Bottom of the <i>Vishnu</i> image, <i>Nilkantha Temple</i>	<i>Kartika sudi 15 (-)</i> 440 VS/ 1383 AD	-do-	Daily salutations (<i>pranam</i>) of <i>sutrgar</i> (carpenter/ <i>sutradhara</i> ?) to <i>Nandi gana</i> .	<i>JASB</i> , March, 1884, p.182; Atkinson, I, p.470; Prasad, p.208.
50.	Outside <i>Sita Sej</i> , to the left near a <i>Lingam</i> in relief	1500 VS / 1443 AD	-do-	Pilgrim's record	Fuhrer, p.152; Prasad, p.22
51.	On a side of <i>Patalganga Kund</i>	1500 VS / 1443 AD	-do-	Pilgrim's record	Fuhrer, p.152; Prasad, p.22
52.	Left side of <i>Hanuman Darwaza</i> , near <i>Hanuman Kund</i>	1530 VS / 1473 AD	Local dialect/ <i>nagari</i>	Daily salutations (<i>pranam</i>) of <i>sri Munivirini</i> to <i>Siva</i>	<i>JASB</i> , March, 1884, p.175; Fuhrer, p.151; Prasad, p.207
53.	Near the steps and postholes in the descent at <i>Patalganga Kund</i>	1540 VS / 1483 AD	-do-	Pilgrim's record	<i>JASB</i> , March, 1884, p.180.
54.	Side of the gateway of <i>Nilkantha Temple</i>	1540 VS / 1483 AD	-do-	Pilgrim's record	<i>JASB</i> , March, 1884, p.189; Atkinson, I, p.468; Prasad, p.208
55.	Top of the <i>Vishnu</i> image, <i>Nilkantha Temple</i>	1540 VS / 1483 AD	-do-	Salutations of <i>Ganesa</i> to <i>Nandi</i>	<i>JASB</i> , March, 1884, p.192; Atkinson, I, p.470; Prasad, p.208
56.	Side of the gateway of <i>Nilkantha Temple</i>	<i>Vaisakh sudi</i> 11, Thurs 1547 / 13 May, 1489 AD	-do-	Pilgrim's record	<i>JASB</i> , March, 1884, p.189; Atkinson, I, p.468; Prasad, p.208
57.	South-eastern side of <i>Panna Darwaza</i>	1550 VS / 1493 AD	-do-	Pilgrim's salutations to <i>Siva</i>	Fuhrer, p.152; <i>JASB</i> , March, 1884, p.183
58.	In the cave having a broken <i>Hanuman</i> figure near <i>Hanuman Darwaza</i>	1560 VS / 1503 AD	-do-	Pilgrim's salutations to <i>Siva</i>	Fuhrer, p.151; Atkinson, I, p.461
59.	On the figure of a female seated on a <i>charpoi</i> to the left of ' <i>Mirak Bhairon</i> ', at <i>Pani ki Aman kund</i>	1563 VS / 1506 AD	-do-	An inscription of salutation with the name of <i>Manu</i>	<i>JASB</i> , March, 1884, p.184; Atkinson, I, p.465; Prasad, p.212
60.	Side of the <i>Chandi Darwaza</i> [first inscription from the top]	1572 VS / 1515 AD	-do-	An inscription of salutation with the name of <i>Manu Vijak</i>	<i>JASB</i> , March, 1884, p.174; Fuhrer, p.151; Atkinson, I, p.460; Prasad, p.212
61.	Side of the gateway of <i>Nilkantha Temple</i>	1579 VS / 1522 AD	-do-	Pilgrim's salutations to <i>Siva</i>	<i>JASB</i> , March, 1884, p.189; Atkinson, I, p.468; Prasad, p.208
62.	Side of the <i>Chandi Darwaza</i> [fourth inscription from the top]	1580 VS / 1523 AD	-do-	An inscription of salutation with the name of <i>Ganesa</i>	<i>JASB</i> , March, 1884, p.174; Fuhrer, p.151; Atkinson, I, p.460; Prasad, p.212

63.	On the <i>Bhudhbhadra Darwaza</i>	1580 VS /1523 AD	-do-	An inscription of salutation with the name of Manu Vijak	Fuhrer.p.151; Atkinson. I, p.460; Prasad,p.212
64.	Right side of the <i>Lal Darwaza</i>	1580 VS /1523 AD	-do-	Pilgrim's salutations to Siva	JASB. March. 1884. p.176; Atkinson.I, p.461;
65.	<i>Hanuman Kund</i> near <i>Hanuman Darwaza</i>	1580 VS /1523 AD	-do-	Pilgrim's salutations to Siva	Fuhrer. p.151.
66.	In the cave having a broken <i>Hanuman</i> figure near <i>Hanuman Darwaza</i>	1580 VS /1523 AD	-do-	Pilgrim's salutations to Siva	Fuhrer. p.151
67.	Rock of the slope below <i>Patalganga</i>	Last day of Rajab, 936 AH /30 March 1530 AD	Persian/ nastaliq	' <i>Muhammad Humayun padshah ghazi ba tarikh salkh rajab al murajjab sanah936</i> '	JASB. March. 1884. p.181; Fuhrer.p.152; Atkinson. I. p.462.
68.	Left side of the <i>Lal Darwaza</i>	1589 VS /1532 AD	dev- anagari	Only date	JASB. March. 1884. p.176; Atkinson.I, p.461;
69.	<i>Sita Sej</i>	1597 VS /1540 AD	Sanskrit/ deva - nagari	Pilgrim's salutations	Fuhrer.p.151; Atkinson. I. p.462.
70.	Side of the <i>Chandi Darwaza</i> [second inscription from the top]	1600 VS /1543 AD	-do-	An inscription of salutation with the name of 'Gopala'	Fuhrer.p.151; Atkinson. I. p.460.
71.	In the niche of the cave having a broken <i>Hanuman</i> figure near <i>Hanuman Darwaza</i>	1600 VS /1543 AD	-do-	Pilgrim's salutations	Fuhrer.p.151; Atkinson. I. p.460.
72.	<i>Sita Sej</i> [several]	1600 VS /1543 AD	-do-	Pilgrim's salutations	JASB. March. 1884, p.179.
73.	South-eastern side of <i>Panna/Bansakar Darwaza</i>	1600 VS /1543 AD	-do-	Pilgrim's salutations	JASB. March. 1884, p.183.
74.	To the right of <i>Pani ki Aman kund</i> near <i>Panna Darwaza</i>	1600 VS /1543 AD	-do-	Pilgrim's salutations	JASB. March. 1884, p.183.
75.	Side of <i>Chandi Darwaza</i>	1600 VS /1543 AD	-do-	Records the final capture of the fort by Shershah [a mistake of 2 years]	Fuhrer.p.151; Atkinson. I, p.460.
76.	<i>Mihrab</i> of the <i>Islamshah Masjid</i> ,north bank of <i>Kohtirth</i>	Islam Shah Sur 952AH / 1545 AD [chronogram]	Persian / nastaliq	'Records the capture of Kalinjar by Shershah. Mentions the death of the Sur ruler. Records that the fort was renamed 'Sherkoh'.	
77.	On a resting figure with a basket at <i>Sita Kund</i>	1640 VS /1583	Local dialect/ nagari	Pilgrim's salutations	Fuhrer.p.151
78.	<i>Patalganga Kund</i>	1640 VS /1583	-do-	Pilgrim's salutations	Fuhrer.p.151

79.	Steps of <i>Kohtirth Kund</i> [Several]	16 th Cent. AD	-do-	Pilgrim's salutations	Fuhrer, p.151
80.	Side of <i>Bada Darwaza</i>	1691 VS /1634 AD	-do-	Pilgrim's salutations	Fuhrer, p.151
81.	Façade of <i>Alam/Alamgiri Darwaza</i>	Mughal Aurang-zeb 1084 AH /1673-74 AD [chronogram]	Persian/ <i>nastaliq</i>	Records that when repairs were carried out, Mohd. Murad strengthened and improved upon the gates at the instance of the emperor.	ARIE, (1973-74). D-269; Fuhrer, p.151; Atkinson, I. p.460.
82.	Slab on the central <i>mihrah</i> , Mosque in <i>Muhalla Baniya</i> . Tarahati [Kalinjar town below the fort]	Mughal Aurang-zeb <i>Shaban 14</i> , 1105AH /31 March 1694 AD	Persian/ <i>nastaliq</i>	States that Shah Muhammad, a saintly person who had built a <i>masjid</i> having few equals in Kalinjar attained martyrdom on the given date.	ARIE, (1973-74). D-274.
83.	Slab on the central <i>mihrah</i> of the mosque near the palace called <i>Rathod Mahal</i>	Mughal Aurang-zeb 1114 AH /1702-3 AD	Persian/ <i>nastaliq</i>	Records the construction of <i>masjid</i>	ARIE, (1973-74). D-272
84.	Slab on the central <i>mihrah</i> of the mosque near the <i>Dargah</i> of Mahdi Shahid	Mughal Shah Alam I Bahadur Shah 1121 AH /1709-10	-do- verse	Records the construction of <i>masjid</i> through the efforts of Zorawar(?)	ARIE, (1973-74). D-271
85.	Slab on the central <i>mihrah</i> of the mosque <i>Dafalioki Masjid</i> , Tarahati	Mughal Farrukh-siyar 1 Muh. 1128 AH /16Dec. 1715 AD	Persian/ <i>nastaliq</i>	Records the construction of <i>masjid</i> by Khidr Khan.	ARIE, (1973-74). D-273
86.	Grave stone, Katra	Mughal 13 Rabill 1145 AH /22 Sept. 1732 AD	-do-	Records the death of Mrdha Natthu Mir Khani	ARIE, (1973-74). D-276
87.	Slab on the central <i>mihrah</i> of <i>Idgah</i>	Mughal Shah Alam II 6 th RY/ 1179 AH /1766 AD	-do-	Badly damaged. Seems to record the construction of a mosque	ARIE, (1973-74). D-275

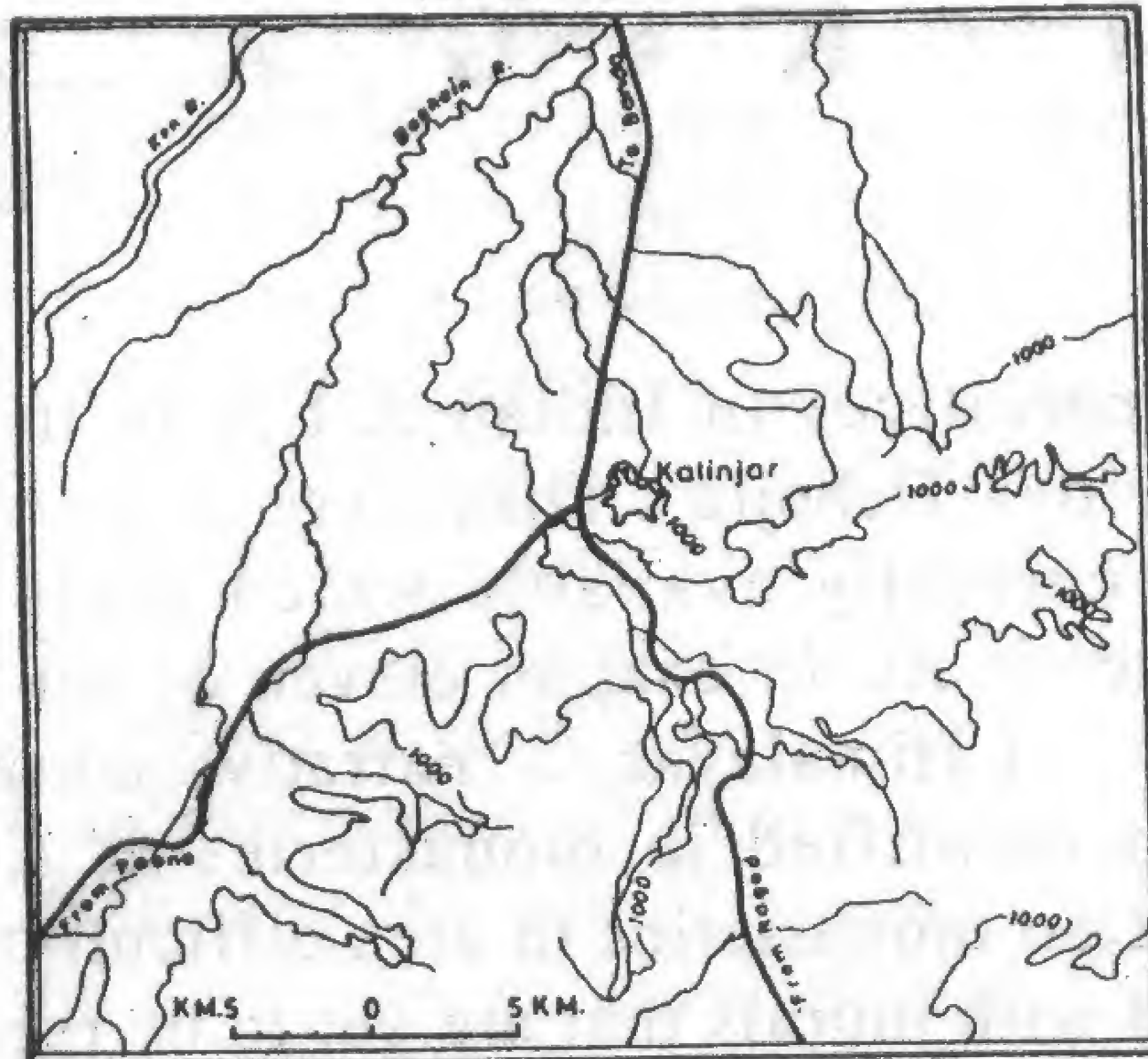
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Kalinjar

KALINJAR

MAP I



KALINJAR FORT

MAP II

